

Male Voice:

In this afternoon, we'll talk to a man who's been described as a maverick of the motion picture industry. Carl Foreman, writer, producer, director. We'll also talk to Robert Cain. We'll discuss Asia from A-Z. Our speak up guest is A.H. Raskin. Is James R Hoffa the iron fisted president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, the nation's biggest and strongest and most investigated union on the way out? One High Teamster official told a reporter of the Wall Street Journal yesterday that Jimmy Hoffa's sitting on a powder keg. If he's convicted in that jury tampering case, it's going to go off and blow him clean out of the Teamsters Union. Hoffa will go on trial in Nashville, TN on January 20th on a jury tampering charge if he's found guilty, some Teamster officials figure that this will mark the beginning of the end of their cocky little chief. However, there is the possibility of an acquittal at Nashville. Jimmy Hoffa has managed a series of seemingly magical escapes from government prosecutors. He may be able to work his magic again. Jimmy Hoffa's problems within his teamster empire run even deeper than his present court troubles. This month, 2 union officers considered the closest and the most loyal to Jimmy Hoffa, resigned. They were his hand-picked executive Vice President, Harold Gibbons, and personal aide Laurence Steinberg. In addition to this palace rift, the President of the Teamsters Union has other problems. We'll hear about them from our speak up guest today, A.H. Raskin, for many years labor reporter for the New York Times, now a member of that newspaper editorial board. Mr. Raskin's article "The Power of James R. Hoffa" is in the current Atlantic magazine. It's the 4th in his series on the nation's biggest labor unions. One worth reading. After our conversation with A.H. Raskin you'll have an opportunity to join us on the air with your questions and comments over our special speak up telephone. That number after this word from A&P. For the past seven years, all the awesome powers of federal government and every instrument of mass communication have been focused on the destruction of the iron fisted president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters James R Hoffa. Now, however, a growing revolt in the Teamsters Union could conceivably accomplish what the government and public opinion have not been able to do. Force Jimmy Hoffa to resign from the presidency of the nation's biggest, strongest and most investigated union. We're going to find out from our speak up guests today, A.H. Raskin, Labor specialist and a member of the editorial board of the New York Times, whether or not Hoffa can put down the current palace revolt among his executives. But before we move to the present day, Jimmy Hoffa, perhaps you could tell us a little bit about where Jimmy Hoffa came from, how he began his career with the Teamsters Union.

A.H. Raskin:

Well Jimmy is a man who slugged his way up. He's never stopped slugging in a real sense, although he doesn't use his fists as much now as he as he used to. Every now and then he loses his temper and he has hit people even recently. But in the early days, he really had to

fight hard. He came up out of Detroit. He, in the in the deepest and darkest days of the depression, he worked as a loading clerk on the on the platform at the Kroger warehouse in Detroit and it was a rough time to do any union organizing. The blacklist was frequent, there was no United Auto Workers. Ford and General Motors, and all the other big auto companies were strongholds of the open shop. Anybody who even talked union, as Jimmy often says, was out of a job just by virtue of opening his mouth. But Jimmy, with three or four others there at the Kroger warehouse, decided that they needed a union. There was great irregularity of employment. Wages were abysmally low. Boss had absolute control, and so Jimmy decided that the thing to do was to find some strategic way to really crack through. And the thing that he did was to take a trainload of strawberries. It came up to the loading dock one day and he said we're not going to move this. This stuff isn't going to be unloaded. It was a freezing cold day. We're not going to unload these strawberries until we get recognition of our Union. Well, management saw those strawberries just wilting there in the cold. And so they wielded. And then Jimmy got recognition for his union. And then he worked his way up. But they had bombings in his car, and they had all kinds of goon squads operating against him. And he retaliated with goon squads so he's had a, this notion that life is a jungle is one he came by very early.

Ed Joyce:

Is it possible that despite the obvious talents of Jimmy Hoffa, that he might never have emerged as the figure he is today, had it not been for a man named Farrell Dobbs?

A.H. Raskin:

Well, I think that's a very interesting and perhaps too little known aspect of his background. Farrell Dobbs was just the absolute opposite of Jimmy Hoffa. He was a political idealist of the extreme left. He was of the Trotskyist faction of the Communist Party. The communists were too conservative for him. But he had the great conception that you use trucking -- this was sort of the lifeline of the economy. If you could get control of the over the road truckers, the ones who operated between cities, not only would that give you a foothold to organize all the local cartman, all the trucks in any given city, but then through that you could move out to the warehousing that you had great strategic power. So for a man who conceived of unions as really a political instrument, trucking was an ideal base. Now Jimmy was sent in from Detroit, Farrell Dobbs and the Dunn brothers were in control of the Minneapolis local of the Teamsters, and they were pretty unpopular with the International Union, was an extremely conservative union. And the best indication is that Jimmy was sent in as part of a mop up squad, a strong armed squad, to break the hold of Farrell Dobbs and the Dunn brothers. But they were very powerfully entrenched, and Jimmy instead of using his fists, began to learn, and he sat at the feet of this rather improbable mentor. This rough, tough kid from Detroit and without ever accepting the political philosophy

that animated Farrell Dobbs, Jimmy did decide that this was the way that what Dobbs was saying made good sense, except that he was interested in power as an instrument of his own advancement and as a device for really consolidating control over the trucking industry, rather than for political revolution.

Ed Joyce: And then when Dobbs went off to play Don Quixote and run for president of the United States, he vacated his office and Jimmy Hoffa moved in.

A.H. Raskin: Yes, and as a matter of fact, Farrell Dobbs at that time had done such a good job of organizing over the road truckmen that the International Union, which had been so hostile to him, wanted to make him an international vice president. But he put aside all those temporal things. He had this greater dream and he was very concerned about our getting into the war, so he bowed out of the Union and that created a vacuum, into which Jimmy then moved with inexorable force.

Ed Joyce: Well, that's where Jimmy Hoffa came from. He is here today. Let's talk about Jimmy Hoffa as he is and as he has been. To many Americans, it seems incredible that a man could emerge as unscathed as Jimmy Hoffa has emerged after being subjected, if I might use that word, to the unfavorable publicity that the nation's press, the broadcasting media, have unanimously given this man, and the barrage of attacks from Washington, from the Attorney general specifically.

A.H. Raskin: Well you had three years of the McClellan investigation, which really was concentrated, highly publicized. Basically, the 20,000 or more pages of record is an indictment of Jimmy Hoffa, and of course that committee concluded that the more powerful Jimmy Hoffa got the worse off the country was then. Of course, you had Bobby Kennedy who was chief counsel for the McClellan Committee, became Attorney general, his brother, the late president, who said during the 1960 campaign that he was not satisfied to see a man like Jimmy Hoffa still out of jail. So you certainly had quite apart from the constant exposure, press, television and so on this is a guy who had a [cocker?] a lot where a lot there was a lot going against him, plus any number of court actions. Then you remember there was a board of monitors which dedicated itself to getting rid of Jimmy Hoffa, and in the end he got rid of the board of monitors.

Ed Joyce: Well, you say in your Atlantic article that each limitation Congress has sought to clamp on Hoffa's power has been negated by the dexterity with which he and his legal battery have refashioned and reinforced the instruments of his rule. What are some of those instruments?

A.H. Raskin:

Well, now you remember the Landrum Griffin Act, which was passed in 1959, was primarily directed against Jimmy Hoffa. It was intended to put a lot of new restrictions on the exercise of Teamster power, particularly the so-called hot cargo clause, which was a kind of secondary boycott device if the Teamsters wanted to organize somebody you struck somebody else and in that way you fanned out over a broad area really. Uh, got a lot of extra power. Well, this was made illegal by Congress and a whole lot of other Teamster practices of the same kind were also supposedly illegalized. Then Jimmy sat down and figured out ways to get around every one of those restrictions. He has a legal battery so big that it's known as a Teamster Bar Association in it's own, right? And Jimmy sits down with these folks says, now this is our problem, you show me a way we can do this legally and every now and then they come up. [inaudible] That's the irreconcilable agreement of all the lawyers that Jimmy was out on a limb that there was just no possible distortion, evasion, circumvention of the law that could possibly accomplish what he had in mind. So finally, the lawyer said to him and discussed that they've been going back and forth, back and forth about this, Jimmy look, face it on this thing you're just wrong and Jimmy said damn it damn it I may have faults, but being wrong ain't one of them.

Ed Joyce:

Is the Hoffa temper all that we have been led to believe it is? Is it quite as ferocious as has been indicated?

A.H. Raskin:

Well, Jimmy generally keeps a pretty good grip on himself, but having gone through now, year after year of being on trial on the verge of trial, new indictments piling up one after another. This is a pretty rugged thing for anybody to have to survive under, and Jimmy has seemed more and more testy. I remember the last time I saw him, which was a couple of months ago before the President's assassination. Jimmy had just left a- got word that a legal maneuver that he wanted to uphold was not going to be allowed by the courts. He had wanted a pension case in Chicago given priority over the jury fixing case in Nashville. Candidly, The teamster lawyers and Jimmy himself are really quite worried about that jury fixing case, so they had hoped that if they could get the Chicago case given priority and they went in and demanded a fast trial that under the American system of law they were entitled to speedy justice. But this thing would drag on for a year a year and a half, and that at the end at the best, the government would come up with a hung jury because it was a terribly complicated case. So they were looking for a legal out by going on trial in one place in preference to another. Well, he had just gotten the word that they weren't going to let him do it, that the Nashville case was going to be #1 and he was in the blackest mood. And as we talked it didn't matter what you what subject you went on it was just such a cynical, angry. The degree of unhappiness which he reflected and distrust of everything was just so all pervasive that you couldn't

understand how a guy, if he really believed that everything in the world was as crooked as he professed. It was our government, our press, every institution of American life that there just was no point to going on. Now every now and then in these in dealing with the people around him somebody will say something that that runs counter to what Jimmy believes and he will tend very often to flare up to the point now where the word in in Teamster headquarters is stay out of Jimmy's Way, everybody tries to find out of town assignments, anything to be away from Jimmy. And every now and then he's throwing an ashtray or punch somebody in the eye or now you Remember the case of Sam Barron, who was built flabby, scholarly type is certainly not a muscle man. Jimmy just got sore at him one day punched him, knocked him over a chair, and then later said he did it in self-defense. He couldn't understand how Sam could get all sort of gone berserk well.

Ed Joyce:

While Jimmy Hoffa may have antagonized some of his immediate coworkers, and while he certainly May not have the complete support of the General Board, as you point out in your article, it's important to remember that he does have the overwhelming backing of 1,000,000 and a half union members.

A.H. Raskin:

Yes, this is Jimmy's secret weapon and after all if you believe, as all of us do, in a democratic structure, the fact that if it were if there were a referendum taken on whether Jimmy should stay on as president of the Teamsters Union, I have no doubt that as against anybody who might possibly run against him from within that organization that Jimmy would emerge an overwhelming victor. Now it's true that in the upper echelon in the International Executive Board, Jimmy's support is fading and it's widely believed that there are only two of the members of that board now, Frank Fitzsimmons, who's his Lieutenant from Detroit, and Tony Pro Provenzano from Jersey City who would be dependable allies. The others on a closed ballot vote might very well vote Jimmy down, but they're not likely to make the effort because what, they won't at any rate, until and unless he's convicted in one of these court actions because they themselves are frank to admit that Jimmy would go into every local, every barn, he would talk to the members and that at a convention, which under the Constitution would have to be held within three months after he was just deposed, that he would be triumphantly re-elected.

Ed Joyce:

Well, of course he's rapidly becoming for the AFL-CIO their Red China too. Too big to ignore, but they don't know quite what to do with him at this point. You say in your article that without the opposition of George Meany, the demand for taking the truck union back would be irresistible.

A.H. Raskin: Well, there's I think, pretty much unanimity in the AFL-CIO that the Teamsters ought to be back in the federation. That by reason of the economic strength, the strategic position that Teamsters have in the economy that a labor movement that doesn't have the Teamsters in it is necessarily weakened just in and of itself, but Meany, and a majority of the Executive Council do believe that the ethical standards for which Hoffa stands are just not tolerable within the Federation and so they're irreconcilably opposed to the Teamsters coming back so long as Jimmy is the president.

Ed Joyce: But let's discuss very briefly, and then we'll begin taking phone calls Plaza 96922, the number to dial. Two possibilities: let's say that he is found guilty at that trial in Nashville, and then that he's not found guilty. If he's found guilty, is that the end of Jimmy Hoffa?

A.H. Raskin: I think that that I have been told by people in his own executive board that once the government gets him in Nashville, even though he would still have the right of appeal and so on that their sentiment, especially because of their unhappiness over the way he reacted to the callousness and the brutality of his reaction to the Kennedy assassination is personal irascibility, and they they're feeling that he is growing more irresponsible all the time that they would move immediately to dump him and that they would. They are confident that they have the votes to do that. If, on the other hand, he doesn't, he is not convicted—

Ed Joyce: Before you tell us that, and again, let me tell our listeners if they'd like to join us on the air Plaza 96922. If you have a question or an opinion, I take it you feel there's no possibility of Jimmy Hoffa operating behind a caretaker government from the confines of a federal prison.

A.H. Raskin: Well, I'm told that this thought has crossed his mind and that he has made a close study of the career of Joe Fay, who you remember was the leader of the operating engineers in this.

Audio File RT-110 Part 1 ends, Transition to Audio File RT-110 Part 2

A.H. Raskin: The area for many years went off to jail and it was widely suspected that a lot of people in that Union continued to look to him for guidance, but I would think that the situation both in the Teamsters headquarters and, of course, the vigilance of the government and a whole combination of other factors would just make it impossible for Jimmy to do that.

Ed Joyce: All right now, let's say that Jimmy Hoffa is found not guilty, and this is not at all impossible. He's emerged from a number of these phrases.

A.H. Raskin:

He seems to have a charmed life so far as litigation is concerned, you remember that Bobby Kennedy, when he was chief counsel for the McClellan committee said at the time of that bribery attempt, the alleged bribery attempt of an investigator for the committee that if Jimmy was not convicted on that charge, he would jump off the Dome of the Capitol. He was just that sure on conviction. Of course, Jimmy did escape without a conviction, so that ever since they've been asking Jim what're you gonna—Bobby, what is, when are you going to jump?

Ed Joyce:

Well now if he should emerge from this, a free man if he's not convicted, what's the future of the Teamsters Union? You indicate that we'll be looking at and possibly dealing with a Jimmy Hoffa who is bigger and stronger than ever before?

A.H. Raskin:

Well, he will have an enormous strategic power and I'm sure first to answer your question explicitly, if he is not convicted, then I don't think there will be any successful effort, and indeed I doubt that there be any effort at all to dislodge him as President unless he does something himself that creates a new crisis. You see this, the immediate pressure arose from the Kennedy death and his reaction to that and people close to Hoffa have always, well, one person, I remember in particular when I'd ask Jimmy, well, ask him, how do you think Jimmy is going to wind up? He'd say, well, this is a fellow who never knows when to stop. He'll keep going up and up and up till he gets to the 102nd floor, then he'll fall off and break his neck, and it may well be he just he's never disposed to let well enough alone he's now concentrating so much power in his hands through this nationwide trucking agreement has the thought of fanning out into warehouse agreements and then perhaps through the whole economy you just get so all powerful that the public - the community finally decides that some limitation has to be put on you.

Ed Joyce:

Are his truckers almost immune, uniquely immune, in this day and age from automation?

A.H. Raskin:

Well, the truck driver seems to have a protected position. Actually, the number of truck drivers is increasing as every prospect that it will continue to increase in the warehouse part of his empire, the probability is that new loading and stocking methods will cut down manpower quite substantially, but this is one of the few unions that is moving forward both in numbers and in in strategic strength when other unions are tending to atrophy.

Ed Joyce:

Well, I think this is an important point and let me just read very briefly from your article, and then we'll begin taking that first call. "In a period when automation is circumscribing the size of most other unions and the effectiveness of their strike weapon. Many are likely to find singularly appealing the opportunity to have their bargaining

objectives underwritten by the Teamsters undiminished economic muscle. The price of partnership and sacrifice of autonomy may be high, but not too high for Unionists who feel disarmed by the inadequacy of their defenses against the job killing impact of changing technology." And on that rather disturbing note let me tell you again, Plaza 96922 the number to dial we'll take our first call after these words, Ed Joyce here over, WCBS and WCBS FM New York with our speak up guest A.H. Raskin. The number to Dial Plaza 96922 let's take our first call. Hello this is Joyce could we have your name?

Tom O'Brien:

This is Tom O'Brien.

Ed Joyce:

Well, Mr. O'Brien, thank you Sir, would you speak up just a bit and go ahead with your question? Mr. Raskin on the phone, go ahead.

Tom O'Brien

Hello, Mr. Raskin?

A.H. Raskin:

Yes Mr. O'Brien.

Tom O'Brien:

Aside from the bad side of Mr. Hoffa, I would like to know if you could see is there any good side of his on his part as for what he's done for his Teamsters? And why I ask this is that having just sat through some negotiations and I wonder if he is the byproduct of public collective bargaining on the part of management.

A.H. Raskin:

Well, I think that what you say is right on both counts, Mr. O'Brien. First, I think that the nature of Jimmy Hoffa does reflect, especially in his origins, the dog eat dog character of the trucking industry fact that especially in the period when he was coming up, a lot of the operators were themselves former rum runners and so on. And that that this always has been a kind of cutthroat industry, and that the bargaining has proceeded often in that framework. Now of course, it's gotten a lot more civilized in recent years. Now, on the positive side of Jimmy Hoffa, first thing to say for him is that he's an enormously able, bright, resourceful, and very flexible kind of operator. The employers in the industry, as well as the rank and file of the Union have a high regard for him because he knows the industry. He's tough. He's often brutal, and certainly his associations are far from admirable. But in terms of being a hardworking, resourceful, and intelligent leader, he certainly is that.

Ed Joyce:

Will that answer your question Sir?

Tom O'Brien:

Very good.

Ed Joyce:

Thank you, Mr. O'Brien. Let's take another call. Hello.

Baine Long:

Hello.

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Ed Joyce: This is Joyce, could we have your name?

Baine Long: Yes, Sir, my name is Baine Long and I've got a question for Mr. Raskin.

Ed Joyce: All right, Mr. Long. Go ahead, Sir.

Baine Long: Mr. Raskin, I was wondering if the Teamsters ever obtained the national basis for their collective bargaining. That Hoffa hopes to at one time, would this in any way be subject to the same Sherman antitrust or other anti-monopoly legislation that affects and impede corporate mergers.

A.H. Raskin: No, so far as anybody can now foresee this kind of collective bargaining agreement would be wholly immune from the Antitrust Act. There just is no law. As you know, there's national bargaining in coal. There's national bargaining in steel, and this would be a counterpart of that kind of bargaining, and there is no legal restraint once the National Labor Relations Board has certified that this is an appropriate bargaining unit, then the only basis on which it could be attacked under the antitrust laws would be if there were evidence that there was collusion on the part of the employers and the Union to restrict the market to drive certain employers out of business or to defraud the public in some way. But in and of itself, this nationwide bargaining which would put all the trucks under the power of a single strike call would not be under the antitrust laws, would not be restrained under.

Baine Long: This is even in face of the emotional argument that this type of involvement with every little hamlet and every little type of business and every little community would seem to even have a more dramatic impact than the national agreement in coal and in steel.

A.H. Raskin: Well, that's quite right Mr. Long, there are a lot of people, of course, who feel that this is a defect in the law. And as you know, Senator McClellan has proposed that there be restrictions enacted by Congress. But under existing legislation, there's nothing at all that would inhibit this.

Ed Joyce: Well Mr. Long thank you sir, for calling.

Baine Long: Thank you very much.

Ed Joyce: Goodbye. Let's take our next call. Hello, this is Joyce, could we have your name?

Ben Penzer: Yes, my name is Ben Penzer.

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Ed Joyce: Well Mr. Penzer thank you Sir. Do you have a question?

Ben Penzer: Yes I do.

Ed Joyce: Go ahead. If you will. Mr. Raskin's on the phone.

A.H. Raskin: Go ahead, sir.

Ben Penzer: Oh hello Mr. Raskin, how are you?

A.H. Raskin: Very good Sir. How are you, Mr. Penzer?

Ben Penzer: Alright, the question I had is if you could discuss a little bit about the political nature of Jimmy Hoffa. This seems to be some matter which no one talks too much about, meaning, for instance, given the fellow you mentioned that Hoffa punched, I think Mr. Baron-

A.H. Raskin: Sam Baron, yes.

Ben Penzer: in New York. All seem to issue statements that fit squarely you might say in the traditional labor pattern of left-wing politics, no one seemed surprised when Walter Reuther showed up at the Freedom March on Washington and yet Hoffa seems to mysteriously be neither right, nor left, nor center or low. Apparently, he supports currently Republican candidates, but that is I guess for a different reason.

A.H. Raskin: Well, I think that that Hoffa himself would be very frank to admit that his approach to politics is one of expediency, even of opportunism, although I'm sure he would prefer to put it in the classic Samuel Gompers framework of reward your friends and punish your enemies. Now in the pursuit of that philosophy he's done a lot of rather quixotic things and you find him often on the other front, from everybody else in the trade union movement. Of course, his hostility to the Kennedys was quite understandable, since they had no use for him. He equally had no use for them and was convinced that the late president and his brother were carrying on a vendetta against him, so he was bitterly anti-Kennedy. He did support Lyndon Johnson for the Democratic nomination in 1960, and I suspect that he will be in the Johnson corner this time, even though his only public statement and this was one he made before the Kennedy assassination, was somewhat in favor of Rockefeller. It was a kind of equivocal statement, but you know that his people here in New York, Johnny O'Rourke, are all very anti-Rockefeller and have been extremely critical of the governor so, Jimmy and his own people are not always together.

Ed Joyce: Well Mr. Penzer thank you, Sir, for calling.

Ben Penzer: Thank you.

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Ed Joyce: Goodbye. Let's take our next call. Hello.

Male Voice: Hello, Mr. Joyce.

Ed Joyce: Yes Sir.

Male Voice: I'd like to ask Mr. Raskin if there has actually been a case where Mr. Hoffa has abused his power or is the major objection to his Union power the fact that he has so much power?

A.H. Raskin: Well, I think it's more the potential than any demonstrable abuse, because truthfully in terms of calling strikes, Hoffa hasn't called very many in the central states where he has had the power to tie up. Well, actually not only the central states, but the South as well, since there are about 22 states under a single agreement, he has been very circumspect in using the strike weapon, but there is a belief on the part of many people, which I must confess I share to some degree, that having that much power vested in a single individual and the authority to call a strike in a real sense would rest with Hoffa, even though he says he'd never be foolish enough to exercise it. The potential is there, and that's where the danger exists.

Ed Joyce: Well, thank you sir for calling.

Male Voice: Thank you very much.

Ed Joyce: Bye. Our next call. Hello, hello, this is Ed Joyce could we have your name. Yes.

Male Voice 2: The other day I was in Washington and I attend one of the meetings in the new building and I overheard that the reason that Mr. Hoffa doesn't want to join the American Federation of Labor is because he's gonna lose all the power that he has and the other is in-- other way too if he's convicted and in this trial he's gonna go away down there, you know. So, I would like to know where it's gonna be all about about these two teams, you know, because the reason that he's fighting for this that he wants his men to get what they come into then. And the reason is that he's a powerful man already, you know, and they keep going like this we're gonna need him somehow, we, in a political status, we don't need him. Because he's just--

A.H. Raskin: Well, let me just say by way of answering the first part of the question that Hoffa is very eager to come back into the AFL-CIO now he doesn't want to agree to any conditions. Certainly not a condition that would eliminate him as President and he doesn't want there a number of other restrictions that he is not ready to accept but basically Hoffa himself is the first to say that the Teamsters ought to be in the AFL-

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CIO. Not because they need the federation, but because the federation needs them and because of Labor movement without the Teamsters really isn't much of a labor movement.

Male Voice 2: Yeah, that's what I was thinking about, you know, because-

A.H. Raskin: Yeah, yes, I don't think he has any reservation except that when the condition is that you can't come back unless there is no Jimmy Hoffa. Of course, he's not interested in coming back on those terms.

Ed Joyce: Well, thank you Sir for calling.

Male Voice 2: All right, thank you very much.

Ed Joyce: Goodbye, we'll take more calls after these words. Now our next phone call please for A.H. Raskin Hello

Female Voice: Hello Mr. Joyce

Ed Joyce: Yes ma'am.

Female Voice: At first, may I say I enjoy your program very much. I've been listening to it since you've been on.

Ed Joyce: Well, I certainly appreciate that it's nice of you to take the time to say that.

Female Voice: I find it most delightful and informative.

Ed Joyce: Thank you, would you like to give us your name?

Female Voice: Uh, I gave my name at the other to the other speaker, but I would like to withhold it now please.

Ed Joyce: Certainly, I have no objection whatsoever.

Female Voice: Thank you very much. I'd like to make a statement.

Ed Joyce: All right.

Female Voice: I know that during the depression years when my husband worked in an office for a mere pittance and we just couldn't get along practically from hand to mouth and since he joined the teamsters Union Hoffa's Union I've sent two boys two boys through the university and we moved very nicely and I really must say I'm very grateful for what Mr. Hoffa has done. And also I would like to say that I rather ask if I may that if Mr. Hoffa was really guilty of all the things he's been accused of wouldn't have been convicted at least of one thing. So I think he's

innocent until he's convicted, and I think that all the adverse publicity and newspaper articles against him, I think it's a shame that he hasn't really been given a fair chance. He's doing the best for the people and I I'm myself and my husband too deeply grateful. Thank you very much.

Ed Joyce: Well, would you like to listen to Mr. Raskin's reaction to that?

Female Voice: Yes, I'm gonna turn on my radio.

Ed Joyce: Well, no, you don't. He's on the phone with you here.

Female Voice: Oh, thank you.

A.H. Raskin: Well, I'm, I'm very interested in what you say. And of course, in under our system of justice, of course, everybody has to and should reserve judgment about Mr. Hoffa until there is a conviction against him. And on all the charges of which he's been acquitted, we have to believe under our system that those were charges without merit, and I think it's a tribute to our system of justice that despite the strong feeling in the White House and in the Justice Department that he has emerged from all of these trials unscathed. So that indicates that he does get and, and everyone would want him to have every benefit of the law. Now in your other thing which really interests me very much, the improvement in standards that you've experienced since your husband joined the Teamsters union, I'm doubly interested because in that article that Mr. Joyce was talking about, I refer to a letter that Ann Landers the advice to the lovelorn columnists had from a girl who didn't want to invite her fiancé's friends to their wedding because they were truck drivers. And then she got, once this thing was published, a lot of Teamsters wives wrote in and they said that they really thought that the teamsters was a great organization this girl was off her rocker and there was one in particular that Miss Landers printed from a college graduate and she said, and I'd just read this briefly, 'cause I think it is interesting. "We have 3 bright children own a comfortable home, take a 3 week vacation every year, been to Europe twice since '56. I have a beautiful 9 striped Beaver coat with a mink collar, the girl who wrote that letter must be living in the dark ages today. Truck drivers make a handsome living. Many of our friends who are professional people and executives of large companies are struggling to get by, but not us. I'm proud to be married to a knight of the road. She should have it so good."

Female Voice: I think that's a wonderful letter. And and I think--

A.H. Raskin: Well, it certainly reflects your thoughts completely.

Ed Joyce: Well, thank you very much for calling.

Female Voice: Thank you very much.

Ed Joyce: Goodbye. Well, we have scheduled one hour for this discussion, but we have a board full of phone calls any number of people anxious to continue this discussion. Well, there's a great deal of influence obviously on our part not only of the Teamsters, but of all Americans interest in James Hoffa, and if you'd be willing A.H. Raskin, could we continue this discussion at 2:15, and you give us the additional time?

A.H. Raskin: Sure, I'd be very happy to.

Ed Joyce: Well, for those of you who haven't been able to get through, will you hold your calls until 2:15 and at that time we'll continue our discussion with A.H. Raskin, a discussion of an article actually part of a series of articles in the Atlantic magazine. This particular one, called the "Power of James R. Hoffa." The number to Dial Plaza 96922, PL. 96922 would hold your calls if you will until 2:15.

Audio File RT-110 Part 2 ends, Transition to Audio File RT-110 Part 3

Ed Joyce: We did something slightly different today. Mr. Raskin, if you were listening, was our guest during the first hour we were discussing Jimmy Hoffa. The number of calls we received was so large that we decided to move the program into the second hour and cancel that material, which we normally would be doing right now. We've been discussing, as I said, a controversial figure in the labor picture today, James R. Hoffa, the iron fisted president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, the nation's biggest, strongest, and most investigated union. Next month, Mr. Hoffa will go on trial in Nashville, TN on a charge of tampering with a jury if he's found guilty, some Teamsters officials feel that this will aid those who seek to force Jimmy Hoffa out of his position as head of the country's most powerful union. In addition, Jimmy Hoffa has other problems. Two of his top aides resigned. There would seem to be growing discontent within the Union with some of his policies. We're going to continue this discussion of James R. Hoffa with A.H. Raskin who's written an article about the teamster head called the "Power of James R. Hoffa" in the current Atlantic magazine. We will of course, begin taking our phone calls, resume taking phone calls over our special speak up Telephone number Plaza 96922, Plaza 96922. If you were unable to get through to Mr. Raskin during our first hour, may I suggest that you place your phone call now Plaza 96922. We'll start taking those phone calls in just a moment. Right now this word from A&P.

A.H. Raskin: I think add that the Teamster, the average Teamster identifies with Hoffa in two ways. First, he really seems to be of them. He isn't stuffed

shirt, he hasn't gone high hat. He looks as if he himself has just stepped off a loading dock. He still keeps in good physical trim and he's very interested in carrying on a lot of gab about the nature of the trucking industry and how it feels to be driving a truck and so on so that when he talks to the man on the loading dock he's talking his language and the fellow really feels that this is another guy who just like the guy who's working next to him.

Ed Joyce: Yes, yes.

A.H. Raskin: So in that sense he identified. Then the other thing, which I'm sure that the bulk of the Members believe is that Jimmy is a victim for them that he's fighting to get them. And this of course is something that Hoffa himself has very sedulously encouraged this notion that he's battling every minute for the teamster, and that the reason he's in trouble with all the forces of righteousness in our society so-called is because they're all lined up with the bosses, and that if he would only stop if he would stop working so hard for the membership, he'd not have any trouble at all. Well, that's kind of simplistic, but I think they believe that.

Ed Joyce: Yeah, you quote Hoffa as saying that his union men could walk on any dock and blow the whistle, and they'll meaning the Teamster's rank and file. They'll go out and never ask why they'll figure there must be a good reason.

A.H. Raskin: Right, well this is one of the great strengths that Hoffa has and he knows it's his strength and so he has always been very careful in everything he did, even though the people around him in many cases are hoodlums. Jimmy differs from a lot of the people of the Johnny Dio stripe, who you know people have worried about. How could a fellow, the head of a great International Union have people all kinds of really low lives around him without being part of that? But the thing that that differentiates Jimmy is first of all, he works much harder than these people and his philosophy is that as long as I'm representing my people adequately, nobody has a right to point the finger at me and question either my associations or what I am doing to take care of my own family and so a lot of these business deals he justifies on that basis.

Ed Joyce: Do you think Hoffa is justified in saying that as far as the federal government is concerned, he's the victim not of prosecution but of persecution?

A.H. Raskin: Well, he really believes that there is a vendetta and the fact that no sooner does he get out of one case then there are six others coming along does make it clear that there has been a special effort to find things about the Teamsters and more specifically, about Hoffa's leadership. On the other hand, it is equally true that the nature of his

associations and a lot of his activities as the McClellan investigation indicated certainly do bear scrutiny.

Ed Joyce:

Well, I dwelt on what could happen to the Teamsters if Jimmy Hoffa is not convicted, how they could appeal to other unions because of automation and the fear of automation, I neglected to ask you to point out that the Teamsters are organizing everything from aircraft workers to salesmen of Jazz records and I'll I will ask you about that after we pause for this word. A.H. Raskin, you say in your article that it would take a Sears Roebuck catalog, this is a boast actually of Jimmy Hoffa, to list all the fields his union is active in.

A.H. Raskin:

Yes, that's right, and of course the thing that is more interesting. I think even than the broad range his concept is if nobody else has organized people, if there are areas that should be organized, nobody else is doing it, even though this doesn't have anything directly to do with trucking, he has a right to organize them. But I think that what he really kind of like, his master plan stemming from the nationwide trucking agreement which he's in process of trying to get signed, which I think he will have signed very likely in the next couple of weeks, that he plans to go out into warehousing and into manufacturing to build block by block, a structure that could really be as big as the whole economy before he gets through and that is his sort of goal and is his dream.

Ed Joyce:

Well, again, I'd like to point out that you say in a period when automation is circumscribing the size of most other unions and the effectiveness of their strike weapon. Many of them are have to look at Jimmy Hoffa and say, well, I don't agree with him. I don't really want to be a part of that Union, but the truckers can't be affected by automation. They're going to remain strong and I'd like to get in under that umbrella of strength.

A.H. Raskin:

Yes, I think that that really is the great appeal that he has. And it is an effective one, especially in a period when young people don't seem to be interested in joining unions. So you look for strength wherever you can find it.

Ed Joyce:

All right, I think it's time for us to start taking that first phone call Plaza 96922, the number to dial. We'll take the first call after this pause. Now our first phone call please for A.H. Raskin and remember if you find the line busy each time we complete a call it'll open up another line. Hello?

Tony Fry:

Yes.

Ed Joyce:

This Ed Joyce, could we have your name?

Tony Fry:

Yes, this is Tony Fry of Local 282 of the Teamsters.

A.H. Raskin:

How are you, Tony?

Tony Fry:

A very good thank you. I listen to your program and although I have a question I want to ask Mr. Raskin. Mr. Raskin I hope you're well. I think something that has been missed here is the public image that's been built against the Teamsters through the investigations that have been conducted and have harmed the Teamsters to some degree, I'd like to correct that. Jimmy Hoffa and the leadership of the Teamsters represent the self sacrifice of every rank and file who's ever been willing to walk the picket line and that self sacrifice has been built into the leadership because they are part of the rank and file at one time had been the rank and file. However, I'd like to ask Mr. Raskin this question and his experience in travel throughout the country. That, and as much as the teamsters have been investigated by senatorial committee and congressional investigating committees. Whether or not there are any plans today or on the nature of any plans of the. Future that the same people would investigate management and as much as the subcontracting through the back door of the legitimate work that has been contracted by the Union people. This work is being subcontracted, given out the back door and automation is being blamed a great deal for unemployment. But if the congressional leaders were to look back into management's back door and find how they evade their contracts, I think that we would raise our unemployment a great deal.

A.H. Raskin:

Well, Tony, let me-

Tony Fry:

I wonder whether Mr. Raskin knows of anything on the books today or any movement today to make this situation aware of the mass—to the national legislature.

A.H. Raskin:

Well Tony, let me just say in response to that that there are two things happening. One, that there is a senatorial investigation now going on into this whole area of the impact of automation and management practices on the unemployment situation, so that that I know a number of the Union witnesses have testified about this subcontracting of work. And the degree to which this is dislodging people in particular companies so that that is under investigation in general. Of course, you remember in the stockpiling and investigation and many other areas there have been criticisms of management for the way it operated, so that even though the Teamsters have been the subject of especially intensive investigation, it isn't accurate, at least in my judgment, to say that nobody else has been investigated.

Tony Fry:

But Mr. Raskin let me ask you this. Although you say there are some areas of hearings being held. However, this is not being brought to the attention of the public, and I think the press is missing a great deal here that they have played up the Teamsters as an arrogant and insulting

organization, which is not true. We're all bread and butter earners we all have families responsibilities. However, let's let's get the press behind this. And show the public that a great deal of our unemployment is due to what has been taking place. As you know, I struck the world's fair here in New York and what I have learned here in the world's fair alone bears out what I say and I think that the public should be made aware of the practices of management itself.

Ed Joyce: Well, may I interrupt you here because perhaps it might be embarrassing if Mr. Raskin found himself in the position of having to say this. But in the article that Mr. Raskin did in the current Atlantic magazine. He does point out that Teamster units in many cities are prominently involved in projects for community betterment. He mentions in New York Teamsters Joint Council headed by John J O'Rourke, Gibbons of Saint Louis, Crystal City, TX. So he does go on and he does present, I think, a balanced picture. Is that the sort of thing you're referring to?

Tony Fry: Yeah, well I appreciate Mr. Raskin's efforts. However, what I'm trying to say is this: the national press itself should play up these points to the extent that they should give equal publicity to expose the management practices as it has been done the Teamsters themselves.

A.H. Raskin: Tony, thanks very much.

Ed Joyce: Thank you for calling.

Tony Fry: Thank you very much.

Ed Joyce: Goodbye.

Tony Fry: Bye bye.

Ed Joyce: Let's take our next phone call. Hello, this Ed Joyce, could we have your name?

Hague Mohegan: Yes, my name is Hague Mohegan.

Ed Joyce: Well, thank you Sir. Do you have a question for Mr. Raskin?

Hague Mohegan: Yes I do. This is the second part of a question I began on the previous program, the previous part. The question is this, if, since it's true that Mr. Hoffa, the main objection to Jimmy Hoffa is the fact that he controls and has so much power with his union, then wouldn't it be true that any successor to Jimmy Hoffa would also wield such power and therefore actually the issue is the Union itself rather than the individual in control of the Union.

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A.H. Raskin: Well actually Mr. Mohegan, this really is one of the points that I tried to make to some extent in my article in the Atlantic that the essential power is really not Hoffa's power, even though he will be the creator of this instrument of nationwide bargaining, that the underlying power is the power of the Teamsters and presumably would be wielded by his successor. However, it is true, as I think you know, since you are quite versed yourself in economics, that one of the things that may well happen in the Teamsters is that if Hoffa goes instead of remaining a strong national organization, it will revert to a kind of local baronial setup which historically was what it used to be before Dave Beck and before Jimmy Hoffa. And in that case, then you wouldn't have the same centralization of power, but that would simply be because the vice president's would reassert their authority on a local level, and it would be a quite different kind of teamsters union.

Hague Mohegan: I see, you feel that if Hoffa is somehow relieved of his power, then there won't be anyone to take the place to take his place.

A.H. Raskin: Well, if it were a Gibbons, I think that Gibbons has very much the same conception of the uses of power and the that the Teamsters can most effectively function if they are a unified national organization with a single set of bargaining and with power relationships on a national level with many other parts of the economy, but I don't think that any of the other vice presidents believe that, and I'm sure that if it were a Sandy O'Brien, for instance from Chicago or [Ina Moan?], or Dusty Miller or Johnny O'Rourke, that the probability is you would revert to what really is a baronial structure rather than a big nationwide powerful union.

Ed Joyce: Well, thank you Sir, for calling.

Hague Mohegan: Thank you.

Ed Joyce: I hope you'll understand if we move to other calls now. Thank you which we will do after these words.

Audio File RT-110 Part 3 ends, Transition to Audio File RT-110 Part 4

Ed Joyce: Ed Joyce here over WCBS and WCBS FM New York with our speak up guest A.H. Raskin of the New York Times. We're discussing the Power of James R. Hoffa, the number to Dial Plaza 96922 if you'd like to join us on the air, let's take our next call. Hello?

William Franza: Hello?

Ed Joyce: This Ed Joyce, could we have your name?

The Power of Hoffa Reels 1-4

William Franza: Mr. Joyce.

Ed Joyce: Yes, Sir.

William Franza: I want to say that you have a very good program and I want to compliment you.

Ed Joyce: Well, Sir, I appreciate that.

William Franza: Keep up the good work.

Ed Joyce: Well, thank you could we, could we have your name?

William Franza: My name is William Franza.

Ed Joyce: Well Mr. Raskins is on the phone Mr. Franza if you'd like to go ahead.

William Franza: I'm a retired railroad man belonging to the AFL-CIO. Hello?

A.H. Raskin: Yes, go ahead Mr. Franza.

William Franza: And the question I want to ask Mr. Raskin is that he did he compare the benefits derived from both unions?

A.H. Raskin: Well, isn't your retirement structure under the Railroad Retirement Board, Mr. Franza, under the government rather than under the Union?

William Franza: Yeah, I'm not talking about railroad retirement or anything I'm talking about the benefits derived from paying dues for the funds of the union.

A.H. Raskin: I see I mean in terms of the protection that you get in wages, job security, retirement benefits and everything else.

William Franza: Well, let me tell you a railroad man after he retires gets none of the benefits except usually a \$300.00 funeral expenses after paying the many years of their dues into the Union.

A.H. Raskin: No, but he does get protected under a special government plan.

William Franza: [Inaudible] the Union this the Union. Give them the over \$100 pension a month and better medical and hospital benefits and an amount covering funeral expenses far exceeding the \$300.00 more in keeping what it takes today to bury a person.

The Power of Hoffa Reels 1-4

Ed Joyce: Well Mr. Raskin, I wonder if you could describe very briefly for us what you mean when you say they are taken care of under the government plan?

A.H. Raskin: Well, the railroad workers have a special railroad retirement program which is financed jointly by the employers and the Union. It's very much like the Social Security system, except it provides more generous benefits and that was set up largely at the instigation of the unions. They were primarily responsible first for the creation of the railroad retirement system and also for the liberalization of benefits. Now I know that many railroad men feel that the benefits are still inadequate, but they are much more substantial than those that come under the regular Social Security system.

Ed Joyce: Well thank you Mr. Franza for calling. Let's take our next call. Hello, let's try another line. Hello?

Denton O'Connor: Hello.

Ed Joyce: This Ed Joyce could we have your name?

Denton O'Connor: Hello this Ed Joyce?

Ed Joyce: Yes, sir.

Denton O'Connor: This is Denton O'Connor from Queens.

Ed Joyce: Mr. O'Connor, thank you for joining us. Do you have a question?

Denton O'Connor: I'd like to pose a question to Mr. Raskin.

A.H. Raskin: Yes, sir.

Ed Joyce: Go ahead if you will.

Denton O'Connor: And Mr. Raskin one of your callers mentioned the fact that she was very satisfied with the high wages that were coming in and the point I'd like to make is that doesn't this lead people into a strange sense of security when they don't realize that their own powers are being taken away by a nationwide union, when as Hoffa has boasted that he can prevent any wheel from turning in the entire country.

A.H. Raskin: Well, it's true that there are many people who say that the thing that is wrong with the Teamsters reaction to the Hoffa brand of leadership is that they accept his philosophy, namely that as long as he brings home the bacon that nobody has a right to complain, and the fact that there are underworld elements in some parts of the Union is not anybody's concern except the membership. Now, I think that the bulk

of the Teamster membership believes as many of our callers have said that, A) if these underworld elements are there, how is it that with all the laws we have in the country they haven't been cleaned out? And how is it that Hoffa himself after all these trials is still at large? So it's one of those things on which sure you could well argue, and many people do, and I think this is the basic complaint about the Teamsters Union that here is a morass, a swamp in which people are coming out with good benefits and saying, well, we don't really care about anything except that this fellow is doing a good job for us. What he does in his spare time doesn't bother us.

Ed Joyce: Would that answer your question, Sir?

Denton O'Connor: Yes it does basically, but I wondered if - has there been any effort made to go back to the rank and file and to illustrate to them the tremendous danger that's involved?

A.H. Raskin: Well I think, Mr. O'Connor that if there's one union in the- that's had a lot of people trying to do its thinking for it certainly is the Teamsters Union, as you know, practically every member of the Senate, the House of Representatives, everybody from the White House down has been telling them what's wrong with their union and what a sinister, destructive force it is. And since they've lived in it and have had the probably a better opportunity than any of the rest of us to make that judgment, we just have to rely in a democratic structure on their wisdom.

Ed Joyce: Mr O'Connor, thank you Sir for calling. Goodbye.

Denton O'Connor: Thank you very much, Sir.

Ed Joyce: Well, thank you. Let's take our next call. Hello?

Daniel Rogers: Hello?

Ed Joyce: This Ed Joyce, could we have your name?

Daniel Rogers: My name is Daniel H. Rogers and I'm an attorney. I pose this question to Mr. Raskin, not so much in defense of Jimmy Hoffa, but rather in view of probably contemporary comments on our times. In view of the radio press and public known attitude of the Attorney General towards Jimmy Hoffa, is there not a serious question whether he can obtain an impartial jury when he goes on trial for the jury fixing charge or any other trial?

A.H. Raskin: Well as you well know, Mr. Rogers, he is objecting to having that trial go on in Nashville because he doesn't feel that a fair jury can be impaneled there, and it may well be that there is no place in the

United States where people don't have their minds pretty well made-up about Jimmy Hoffa. And in that sense, in many areas, particularly it may really be impossible to get a dispassionate estimate.

Daniel Rogers: Isn't this somewhat of almost an accusation at the overzealousness of the press and radio in doing their job so well?

A.H. Raskin: Well, it may be. On the other hand, it may simply be a reflection of the effort of press radio and of governmental agencies to bring the facts to public attention. Now, when the facts, at least as they are disclosed in a governmental investigation, are as damaging as they were in this situation, it's very hard for anyone to ignore them, and indeed it would be a questionable exercise of the public's right to know or the satisfaction of that right to know not to make those facts available.

Daniel Rogers: Thank you, I'm an avid reader of your newspaper and also of your column.

A.H. Raskin: Thank you very much.

Ed Joyce: Thank you, Mr. Rogers, for calling. You know, it's interesting, I just like to bring this out before we take our next call that so much has been said about the unfavorable publicity that Jimmy Hoffa has received, but here for going on 2 hours now we have been accepting whatever phone calls come in and that works something like a roulette wheel. You never know who will be able to get through, I realized the lines are busy frequently, by no means have we been receiving an overwhelming number of anti-Hoffa calls.

A.H. Raskin: Yes, and that I think really what I should have added to my answer to Mr. Rogers that something that I had said earlier in the program that with all the hostility which we believed to exist in this country as a result of the unfavorable publicity that Mr. Hoffa has had, the fact is that in all of these trials, even though most of us have felt that the evidence looked pretty compelling against Mr. Hoffa, he has had a fair trial, at least in the sense that he has emerged a free man every time. So the cards of justice certainly are not stacked against him on the basis of the evidence thus far.

Ed Joyce: We'll take another phone call after these words. The number to Dial Plaza 96922. Let's take another call now, hello?

Leon Tucker: Hello.

Ed Joyce: This Ed Joyce, could we have your name?

Leon Tucker: My name is Leon Tucker and I want to compliment you on your good show Mr. Joyce. I listen whenever I can.

Ed Joyce: Well, Mrs. Tucker, I appreciate that very much. Thank you.

Leon Tucker: And I have a two-part question to Mr. Raskin. Number one, if we really believe in democracy and the rank and file we left to Mr. Hoffa, why do these outside forces have to try to dislodge him? And part two, could it be that the management wants to dislodge him because they don't want to have to deal with this power that he can execute and [inaudible] you probably won't have.

A.H. Raskin: Well, I think Mrs. Tucker that on the first part of your question that it is quite true that the membership of the Teamsters Union, so far as anybody has ever been able to judge, is overwhelmingly in support of Jimmy Hoffa. We passed a Landrum Griffin Act, which was specifically designed to ensure union democracy. And the one thing that even his enemies in the Executive Board or his critics in the Executive Board acknowledge is that if a referendum vote were taken of the Teamster membership, that Hoffa would emerge overwhelmingly, the victor, and even if they initiated charges within the board and dropped him, that he would still in the end be re-elected at a convention by the representatives of the rank and file. So, on the first part of your question, sure, that's a decision which under our whole concept of the way Union ought to be run that has to be left to the rank and file, and certainly everybody and his brother has been telling them what's wrong with Hoffa, so that if they believe he's the right man, they're entitled to have Jimmy Hoffa as their leader. Now in so far as the employer influence to undermine and undercut him I don't see much evidence of that. On the contrary, what I find is that the large employers, in particular the operators of the big transcontinental truck fleets, are very pleased with Hoffa kind of leadership, not because he gives them soft contracts or sweetheart contracts, but because they feel that he's a man who knows the industry, a responsible trade Union Leader in terms of not having quickie strikes or enforcing union discipline so that once they get a contract, they believe it's going to be lived up to, so I don't really think that management is working to undercut him. It is true that there are many people, mostly in the political life of this country, who, on the basis of the evidence before the McClellan committee, are sincerely convinced that Jimmy Hoffa is a destructive social force and of course they as is their right in our democracy are giving voice to that expression.

Ed Joyce: Well, Mrs. Tucker, thank you very much.

Leon Tucker: Thank you.

Ed Joyce: Goodbye, I think before we take our next call it might be good to bring out something that you did bring out during the first hour that. Many people feel that a large number on the Executive board at this point is

just sitting back, they're just sitting back waiting for the outcome of this particular trial, and if he is found guilty then they'll move in.

A.H. Raskin:

Yes, I think that's quite- it really all hinges on the outcome of the Nashville trial. Now it's true that if he is convicted and that stands up on appeal, then nobody would have to do anything about Mr. Hoffa because under the Landrum Griffin law he would then be disqualified from holding office for all the period of his conviction plus five years thereafter, which would pretty completely eliminate him, but even without that, even before the appeal, there are people in the Executive Board who would move in and who think they have the votes to undercut him. But if he is not convicted, then just the reverse will be true. He will be stronger than ever, and I don't think anybody is even going to make a move to unseat him.

Ed Joyce:

Well, let's take another phone call now. Hello?

Harry Cinnamon:

Hello, yes?

Ed Joyce:

This Ed Joyce, could we have your name?

Harry Cinnamon:

My name is Harry Cinnamon.

Ed Joyce:

Harry Cinnamon.

Harry Cinnamon:

That's Cinnamon.

Ed Joyce:

Thank you, sir, for calling Mr. Cinnamon. Do you have a question for A.H. Raskin?

Henry Cinnamon:

I'll tell you what, it's no question, but I want to tell him how proud I am to be a member of the Teamsters Union since 1929. And furthermore, and the if he didn't, and when they organized this union over here before you even breathed, union over there, you have fired right off the job and all the material benefits that we have gained since Mr. Hoffa organized the Teamsters Union. The [truck?] drivers division. \$150.00 a month pension for life. Free Blue Cross for life. 5000 and \$10,000 insurance. Four-week vacation. \$60.00, six sick benefits for six months paid if you save on jury duty you've got your full salary of \$135 a week, plus commissions, and I think that's a wonderful thing for which Mr. Jimmy Hoffa has advised our local union in their negotiations with their employers.

A.H. Raskin:

Well, Mr. Cinnamon actually, of course without meaning to detract from--

Harry Cinnamon:

What's that?

The Power of Hoffa Reels 1-4

A.H. Raskin: I say without meaning to detract in any way from Mr. Hoffa's role in the in the overall guidance of policy, of course, your local union leaders and representatives had a great deal to do with the upbuilding of your Union and those success as well.

Harry Cinnamon: Like I, I'm listening to the radio. My wife is [inaudible] radio.

Ed Joyce: Well no, no you, you're listening to your phone and may I ask you something and I mean no accusation here as far as Hoffa is concerned.

Harry Cinnamon: Hello, what is that?

Ed Joyce: I'll tell you what, why don't you hang up the phone and listen to the radio and you'll be able to--

Harry Cinnamon: Yeah, OK fine.

Ed Joyce: Get the answer there. A.H. Raskin, gonna ask you this question then. And this is certainly not an accusation intended for Jimmy Hoffa. But is that any sort of a yardstick to use for a man that my material benefits have immediately improved? If I was Robin Hood, the land, the leader of a band of robbers and was very good to my men and brought them material benefits. Is that the only yardstick to use? And again, I'm not trying to accuse Jimmy Hoffa of anything, I'm just questioning the use of this particular yardstick.

A.H. Raskin: Well, and I don't know whether it's the sole yardstick, but it certainly is true that that one of the functions of a Union, and indeed the primary function of a union is to advance the material well-being of its members. Now if that's done at the expense of society, if it really is a destructive social force, then you would hope that the members of the Union would say, well, we don't want to have a gun at the head of the total economy. But I think that the Teamsters looking at the total society and looking at the accomplishments of their union feel that what they have gotten or things they ought to have, they've enriched their lives. They've enabled them to bring up their families, educate their families much better, and so they regard that as a very valid standard to apply to their union.

Ed Joyce: Well, I think we should try for one more short phone call. Hello

Mrs. Gellis: Mr. Joyce?

Ed Joyce: Yes ma'am.

Mrs. Gellis: This is Mrs. Gellis from Larchmont speaking.

The Power of Hoffa Reels 1-4

Ed Joyce: Yes, we have a very brief amount of time.

Mrs. Gellis: Alright.

Ed Joyce: If you have a quick question here.

Mrs. Gellis: Alright, well I'd like to ask Mr Raskin if it's true, as I assume it is, that action must come from Congress to tighten the labor laws, protecting the public interest against men like Hoffa. Does he think that in the foreseeable future that we will have such action from Congress?

A.H. Raskin: I would be inclined to doubt it, Mrs. Gellis. I don't see particularly, with an election year coming up, that either party in Congress is going to make any very pronounced move to put any additional restrictions on labor.

Mrs. Gellis: So let me just ask you, Mr. Raskin, don't you think that the action must come from Congress rather than from the Union itself?

A.H. Raskin: Well, there are two areas, one in terms of who's going to run the Teamsters Union. I think the members of the Teamsters unions are the only ones who should make that decision. Whether the Teamsters Union has too much power and in that way is- it's injuring society, of course, that's something on which Congress ought to protect the public.

Mrs. Gellis: Yeah, that's what I'm specifically--

Ed Joyce: Well, forgive me, but that's all the time we have.

Mrs. Gellis: Alright thanks.

Ed Joyce: And thank you very much for calling. A.H. Raskin, Thank you very much for being our guest. I think if we've demonstrated nothing else, we've demonstrated the charismatic quality of James Hoffa.

A.H. Raskin: Thank you Ed. It was a great pleasure.

Ed Joyce: A.H. Raskin, whose article is in the current Atlantic. It's called the "Power of James R Hoffa." Let me close by reading one of the paragraphs: "Whatever the position of the players when the final curtain comes down, the factors that have enabled the Union led by Hoffa to grow bigger and vastly more powerful in the face of the most sustained, most widespread public hostility. Ever concentrated on a single labor organization provide an insight into the power structure of our economic society that is as disturbing as it is illuminating." This is Ed Joyce. We'll join Edith Head after this word.

The Power of Hoffa Reels 1-4